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New Republic

TRUMAN WITHDRAWS

A Free Choice for the Democrats

Russia's Game in Germany

Reviews of

D. H. LAWRENCE by Mark Schorer

MARIANNE MOORE by M. L. Rosenthal

THEATRE 1951-1952 by Harold Clurman

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Letters

Inspect the Oysters

● It was United Nations Week a while back. With an interest that can be described as fluctuating, I noted the proclamations, parades, and prayers, the cavalcades, the essay contests and the publication of UN stamps. Not until the other day, though, did I catch up with the most fascinating feature of the celebration—the publication of a UN Cook Book. It's called *The World's Favorite Recipes*. Subtitle, "Over 100 Tested Dishes from the United Nations."

I find it a provocative little pamphlet, reflecting in gastronomical miniature both the high purposes and the practical problems of its sponsors.

Here's a quote from the foreward by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. "To take dishes from every country in the world into our kitchen is, in itself, one of the ways to bring about international understanding."

Well, so far I haven't had time to take the Flemish Carbonades or the Guatemalan national cold lunch for All Saints' Day into my kitchen. But I will say that just browsing in *The World's Favorite Recipes* has enlarged my international understanding. . . . I also sense, as I have never sensed before, how nationalistic the soup situation is in other countries. Mexico favors pancake soup, Iceland likes cauliflower broth and the Liberians go for chicken peanut soup.

For a fleeting moment I thought I had the key to stronger bonds between the United States and Liberia. A girl who was reading over my shoulder confessed that they used to serve peanut butter soup at Vassar. But it seems the Vassarians didn't go for it.

Anyway, the UN Cook Book broadened my international understanding with a recipe called Golden Silk from Thailand. My aesthetic delight in this rich-sounding egg dessert was short-lived, however. To make it you have to use a tin can with the top removed and a hole punched in the middle of the bottom.

There is a more hopeful note for international good will in Turkey's favorite dessert. Its official name is Ekmels Kadaif, but a parenthesis calls it Holland Rusk Dessert a la American. . . .

There's even deeper evidence of international unrest in the UN Cook Book as a whole. Six of the 60 member nations just aren't represented at all. Mr. William Waymack tries to explain the omissions in his introduction. "We regret," says Mr. Waymack, "that a few recipes could not be included because of the pressure of time." Time, Mr. Waymack? Just a few lines of print? Oh come now. You left out Ethiopia, for one. Why not cable the Emperor Haile Selassie? . . . And Shoshana Damari, the singer from Yemen —another neglected country — is right here in New York. She cooks, too.

I can't imagine why the UN is in a state of culinary confusion with Burma and Lebanon, either. But the problem with the last two of the omitted sextet—Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine—is clear enough. Stalin has dropped his curtain in front of the kitchens as well as the factories.

Oh, there are USSR recipes included among the world's favorites all right. . . . But the USSR dainties don't even come from *Pravda* or the official Soviet Cook Book, let alone some private artist of cookery. They are spy work by the Connecticut Extension Service. . . .

A less ominous but more baffling example of cooking legislation by proxy is a United Kingdom entry. The recipe for good old English plum pudding was created by the Wisconsin Home Economics Association.

And I have one final quibble with the editors. How can we hope to outlaw secret treaties when we accept secret international recipes so brazenly? No one—not even an extension service—accepts responsibility for the majority of the dishes in the book. They are followed by single, sinister acknowledgment: "From a private collection."

I guess the first edition of *The World's Favorite Recipes* jibes pretty well with the general record of the United Nations so far in its work for the world: much accomplished, considerable confusion, a lot still to be done.

New York City JOHN MCGIFFERT

Funds to Fight McCarthy

● In a recent issue of his column Robert Allen reports the decision of Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski (R, Wis.) to try to wrest the Senatorial nomination from "Jumping Joe." And in the *New Republic* (March 10) there is an article on a Democratic team against McCarthy, headed by James E. Doyle. It occurs to me that here is an excellent chance for decent citizens, revolted by the political gangsterism typified by McCarthy, to take effective steps to eliminate such characters from public life. I should like to start the ball rolling, if it has not already been started, by sending you the enclosed blank check . . . to be directed by you as a campaign contribution to whichever anti-McCarthy group you consider can use it most effectively.

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES H. HONZIK

● If you can refer me to the chairman of the anti-McCarthy forces in Wisconsin I would be glad to make a financial contribution to their efforts to defeat him in the November election.

Barto, Pa. EDWIN F. NIMMO

[The *New Republic* will be happy to furnish the names and addresses of those to whom funds can be sent directly in Wisconsin or will be glad to transmit any contribution sent in our care. – THE EDITORS]

Fast for Africa

● April 6 will be the 300th anniversary of white settlement in the Union of South Africa. The present white settlers there will celebrate the day with pageants and speeches. The three national congresses of non-white peoples of South Africa, however (the Africans, Indians and people of mixed African-European descent) have announced that on April 6 *they* will conduct a non-violent sit-down strike.

This demonstration will be to protest, to the South African government and to all the world, the fantastic racial segregation and virtual enslavement legislation of South Africa's present Nationalist government. Manilal Gandhi, 58 year-old son of Mahatma Gandhi and a leader

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Full Speed Ahead

Allied and Communist negotiators agree today (Thursday) on the ports of entry to be used during a Korean Armistice, thus moving closer to agreement on everything except the major issues holding up a truce. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

To Know Him—

A comparison of vote results from individual New Hampshire communities with the itinerary of Mr. Taft's whirlwind tour of the state shows that, in general, the Senator ran the poorest in the places he worked the hardest. – *From the New York* Times.

Why, Mr. Investigator!

"I figure it would take me about five or six hours to fill out the questionnaire," [Newbold] Morris said.

"It should not take an honest person much longer. . . . – *From the Kansas City* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN paused in his talk in the big, misty armory and then in a casual, matter-of-fact manner said he wasn't going to run. And that was that. Bess had won her argument with Harry. It all happened so calmly and quietly that the stunned audience didn't grasp it for several seconds. The next day (Sunday) Adlai Stevenson repeated on a TV show his set formula: he is only running for the Illinois governorship; but he will listen to a genuine draft-call if it comes on the Presidential ticket.

This has created a natural stir. We are stirred, too. And yet we find our emotions vaguely mixed. Aren't the people who are being so excessively astonished by it all overdoing it a trifle? Tut, tut: surely they haven't been reading our column as studiously as they should.

On February 11, we wrote:

"It is now known that Truman talked over Gov. Adlai Stevenson's divorce at the latter's recent White House visit and concluded that it would not stand in the way of his nomination."

On March 10:

". . . We expect spectacular developments shortly from Key West and Springfield, Ill. Truman wants to quit. . . . Now it's up to Adlai. Truman has popped the question and Adlai is coyly debating. . . . Truman will go down the line for him. . . . Stevenson is a reluctant Presidential candidate."

(St. Louis *Post Dispatch*-man, able Raymond Brandt, wrote his widely quoted March 26 dispatch in the air, coming back from Key West.)

March 24:

". . . Many observers think the Jackson Day dinner March 29 the final date when Truman can still control party destiny; if he does not declare intentions by then the situation will be out of hand."

March 21 (issued on newstands March 26): "We should soon know whether reluctant President Truman can persuade reluctant Adlai Stevenson to run."

We are inclined to think we will lay off prophecy for a while and leave well enough alone.

Where does this leave the Presidential race? In broadest terms Ike now seems to be pulling away from Taft (we shall know better after the Wisconsin primary). Taft shows his desperation by his increasing isolationism; he now says that if he were President he would contribute only technical assistance to our allies. Taft is America's one really big danger; his election would be an international calamity. We can't take MacArthur seriously; the voters are seeing through phony Stassen; Earl Warren is our favorite Republican, but he's too liberal, we fear, for his party. He might get it, however, on a Taft-Ike deadlock.

Now the Democrats: Russell is an able Southern figure whose one reason for running ends with Truman's withdrawal. Kerr just won't do: multimillionaire oil men who get legislation passed for their own pocketbooks can't make the grade. That makes it between Stevenson and Kefauver, and here, although we like Kefauver very much, we must say rather regretfully that Stevenson is the more logical candidate.

(There are personal reasons that make Justice Douglas finally and irrevocably unwilling to run. Nobody admires him more than we do, but we deplore the campaign in his behalf. We are sorry to see our old friend *The Nation* involved in the matter. In the case of some of the Douglas "supporters" at least we detect a mischievous irresponsibility in the maneuver to use Douglas' name for their own ends, in a revived third-party movement.)

The final question is, can Stevenson beat Ike? As of this date most Wash-

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ington reporters would say, flatly, no. We too think that the odds would be against Stevenson at the moment. Ike is a man of great charm and capacity. But the US is basically a liberal country, and the dislike for a conservative ex-general in the White House and Kem, McCarthy and Jenner in the Senate must be reckoned with. Ike must step off his glamor-pedestal soon and say where he stands on a lot of things. The campaign is young yet.

Democratic big city bosses called up Stevenson after Truman withdrew and pleaded with him not to say flatly he wouldn't take the nomination if offered. To their relief Stevenson agreed.

Why is Stevenson so reluctant? Basically because the White House is a prison. You have to read the Truman-Hillman book *Mr. President* to realize how terribly lonely even an extrovert like Truman gets inside the cage when his wife and daughter leave him. And Stevenson is a divorced man who thinks of a term in Washington as a term in Sing Sing. Even equipped with wife and family, there is nobody lonelier than the American who becomes the nation's President and High Priest; for a single man it is tough indeed.

Notes: Last Wednesday, 30 separate Congressional investigating committees met; so many are functioning that room has been hired in a local hotel. . . . Reporters are asked confidentially, "Just what is Congress trying to hide?"; Senatorial reluctance to vote the tax-bureau reform bill, Congressional refusal to grant Newbold Morris subpoena power, and the queer involvements of Senators Bridges and Brewster have aroused widespread suspicion. . . . The John Foster Dulles State Department post won't be filled till after the campaign. . . . A bill to support is HR 508—it orders the Post Office to change its accounting system to tell how much mail subsidy the airlines are getting; oddly enough nobody now knows; the Senate passed a watered-down bill—the airlines are quietly fighting it. . . . Truman's influence was so low his proposed retirement may now strengthen his hand; also the party.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

of the South African Indian National Congress, began a 21-day fast on March 6, in preparation for the April 6 demonstration. Prime Minister Daniel Malan, for his part, has announced that none of the government's policies will be changed (despite the fact that one of the acts in question has now been ruled unconstitutional) and that the police will know how to deal with the demonstrators.

Remembering Mahatma Gandhi's oft-repeated warnings that in our time words without action carry even less weight than ever before, some of us here at the University of Chicago who want to do something beyond attendance at a protest meeting will observe a three-day fast April 4 to 6. We believe this is one way in which we can help assure the suppressed peoples of South Africa—people who have every reason to suspect the motives of white men—that there *are* sincere democrats in the US anxious to bend every effort toward ending racism both in the US and throughout the world(in this case, by indirectly helping to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government).

Those of us taking part in the three-day fast will cable a message of our support to Manilal Gandhi (at Phoenix, Natal, Union of South Africa) on April 4; we will forward to the (US) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the money which otherwise would have been used for food. Readers who wish to join us are urged to do likewise; it will be appreciated if they will inform us (Box 765, International House, Chicago 37) of their action.

Chicago, Ill. DOUG KELLY

The 1952 Campaign

● The reaction some candidates show by speaking and by their voting record should frighten more people than it has to this date. The reactionaries scream loudest about social welfare and the "welfare state." This welfare state they (Taft, Stassen) deplore is something human to me. I was in elementary school when this country was at the peak of the depression in 1933 and lasting until I graduated from high school in 1939. However, President Roosevelt was doing something to keep the people from going hungry by WPA, etc. That was the period when the rich reactionaries (who else?) were sharpening their knives and shouting, "Socialism which leads to Communism," and it's still heard today. In 1939, thousands of young people were helped by NYA and the boys were given some good training in the CCC.

Was there any other solution? The reactionary element didn't come up with one, if there happened to be another way out. They only ranted and raved about expenditures.

Then, of course, war from 1941 to 1945. Thousands of veterans later attended college who otherwise would not have been able to finance the costs.

Of course, the reactionary group kept quiet, but wasn't this a good example of social welfare? Many thousands of people have benefited from government subsidies, including giant corporations! In this day, we are going to also realize that our frontiers, geographically, have been reached. We are going to have to start learning that human welfare comes before any system of government if that system neglects the least of any of the human races. Social welfare is the job of the government, if private enterprise cannot provide the system to include *all* of the people in a fair plan.

Walnut Creek, Calif. THOMAS KENDALL

● A committee is being formed in Massachusetts in connection with the nation-wide movement to nominate Justice William O. Douglas for President on the Democratic ticket.

New Republic readers who reside in Massachusetts and are interested in this project should communicate with the writer at 96 Elm Hill Avenue, Roxbury 21, Massachusetts.

Roxbury, Mass. ALLAN SIDD

Now Available

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A Statement of His Views

Reprints from the *New Republic* of February 18, 1952

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New Republic

TRUMAN'S GIFT TO DEMOCRACY—FREE CHOICE IN '52

THE WITHDRAWAL of Harry S. Truman from the 1952 election race greatly increases the chances of the Democratic Party to win. With more than three months to go before the national nominating convention, the Democrats have ample time in which to weigh the available candidates and decide upon their strongest slate. In Gov. Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver, the Democratic Party has two men fully acceptable as liberal standard bearers. Both of them represent the philosophy of the New Deal and the Fair Deal and either is capable of conducting a campaign which would clarify the basic issues between the major parties.

With Kefauver, Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell and Oklahoma Sen. Robert S. Kerr announced candidates, Stevenson available for draft, Vice President Barkley and House Speaker Sam Rayburn possible entries, Sen. Paul H. Douglas and Justice William O. Douglas, avowed non-combatants but still actively supported by some, the way is open for innumerable combinations and deals.

Prior to President Truman's announcement that he will not be a candidate, experts were estimating that Senator Russell would come to the convention with between 250 and 300 delegate votes and that Senator Kefauver would win approximately the same number for himself on the first ballot through the Presidential primaries in which he is entered, giving Kefauver and Russell together close to one-half of the total delegate strength of 1,230.

The potent delegations from the populous Northern industrial states which have been the core of Fair Deal strength are as yet not organized around any one candidate, but it is widely assumed that if Governor Stevenson gives the word, the party organizations in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey, as well as Illinois, would rally around him, giving him in the neighborhood of 400 votes—not enough for nomination, but depending on how many of the potential candidates actually continue in the race until the balloting begins, within reach of it. Combined, the delegate strength behind Kefauver and Stevenson, if he enters, would almost certainly be a majority. The question is how to concentrate the liberal force that would be led into the convention under these two banners.

The Dixiecrat strategists have laid their plans to take advantage of a failure of the Fair Deal element to achieve unity. Their first hope is to deadlock the convention by backing splinter candidates and then force agreement on the "compromise" candidate of their choice, Senator Kerr—in reality the man for whom Senator Russell is serving as stalking horse. Failing that, the block of votes in Russell's hands would be offered in return for concessions in the party platform and perhaps second place on the ticket. Would-be king-makers in Washington were pushing a Stevenson-Russell ticket hard, even before Truman's announcement, and some "practical" liberals were noticeably listening. The Southerners will continue their seductive offers. A first necessity is to seal liberal ears against the siren call. Neither Kerr nor Russell has any right to a place on a Democratic Party ticket which stands for the policies of Roosevelt and Truman, and such a suggestion should not even be entertained.

The complicated circumstances surrounding Governor Stevenson will necessarily create difficulties. A part of Stevenson's genuine reluctance thus far to enter the Presidential race has stemmed from unwillingness to be put forward as Truman's candidate, feeling, probably wisely, that to stand as a hand-picked successor would be a handicap in the final campaign. That problem is now resolved, and the coming weeks will almost certainly see the emergence of the desired alternative, a pre-convention "draft" movement on his behalf by organization leaders. Illinois' Democratic National Committeeman Jacob Arvey paved the way for this in highly charged hotel room caucuses in the 48 hours following the President's surprise statement.

But Stevenson's situation remains difficult. His concern for the continuity of reforms he has begun in the state government of Illinois is deeply sincere, and he is determined to do nothing that might destroy what he has already accomplished. To devote more of the three months between the April 8 Illinois primary and the July convention to national politicking than to his duties as Governor and to campaigning against his Republican opposition would, Stevenson is said to feel, be negligent

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of his responsibility. But if others can perform the usual candidate tasks for him and bring about his nomination, there is no basis for doubt that he will then willingly run for President and arrange for an orderly succession in Illinois.

Meanwhile Estes Kefauver will be vigorously pursuing delegates through the popular primaries and in many places winning the liberal support which he has earned by his record. On May 16, Kefauver and Stevenson will go before the voters of Oregon in the only primary election in which both are entered. Kefauver will stump that state thoroughly; as of now, Stevenson plans no campaign. Both men, we are glad to say, are restraining their supporters from attacks on each other. This spirit, if it can be maintained up to July, will afford the Democratic Party a free convention choice, unhampered by bitterness on the progressive side, an advantage no Republican candidate can enjoy this year.

President Truman has acted in the best interests of his party and his own place in history in stepping aside for new leadership. He will be a useful force in the campaign in reminding the party and the candidate how to fight. The admonition with which he closed his address of March 29 is the first advice for the Party:

> We must always remember the things the Democratic Party has done and the high ideals that have made it great. We must be true to its principles and keep it foremost in service to the people.
>
> If we do that, we can take our case to the American people in 1952 with full confidence in their judgment—and in the ultimate judgment of history.

WILSON: A FAILURE BOWS OUT

THE DEPARTURE of Charles E. Wilson from the post of Defense Mobilizer can prove a boon to efficient operation of the Defense Production Program and to the achievement of economic stabilization. Wilson's failure to speed the national effort on both counts had evoked increasing signs of Presidential impatience with his performance. In fact the belief in the inner circles in Washington was already widespread that he would have to be dismissed.

President Truman was slow to anger at the mistakes of the man he had personally persuaded to leave the $175,000 a year position of Board Chairman of General Electric to accept the largest grant of delegated authority ever made by a President in peace time. The reports of his Council of Economic Advisors have repeatedly pointed out the deficiency in Wilson's planning and performances. Sen. Lyndon Johnson's Preparedness Subcommittee and Sen. Blair Moody's Small Business Subcommittee have recently documented the frightening lag of production of critical defense items.

Under Charles Wilson's leadership, some 22 months after the opening salvo in the Korean War, our nation's productive might is still operating on a "business as usual" basis. We still are not producing even sufficient weapons to equip our forces adequately in Korea. Our mastery of the skies has been lost. We have not furnished our allies in Europe the full quota of promised materials. These were Charles Wilson's responsibilities; these were Charles Wilson's failures.

It is no small task to find adequate leadership to fill the vacancy which Wilson has left. It is obviously unthinkable to continue Presidential Assistant John R. Steelman, now in emergency charge, in this job. There is no time to break in another businessman ignorant of the ways of government. The new Director of Defense should be one of the men experienced and ready at hand. Either Robert R. Nathan, planning chief of the World War II production program, or Chief Economic Advisor Leon Keyserling would be well qualified to restore the balance and the foresight that have been absent from the Wilson brand of mobilization.

The new Mobilization Director will have a heavy task in repairing the damage to the Economic Stabilization Program done by Wilson's insistence on acting as the defender of big business in the matter of the steel wage case. He denounced his own Wage Stabilization Board for recommending a steel pay formula within the framework of a program which he was ostensibly upholding. This all but nullified the recommendation as a basis of settlement to avert the great steel strike of 1952, four times postponed by the CIO Steelworkers, and now set for April 8. Then, mouthing the words of the steel executives themselves, he spoke out for allowing a $10 to $12 a ton increase in the price of steel which would have scuttled the program against inflation.

What really shocked both Wilson and his industry-minded friends most rudely was the realization that Economic Stabilizer Roger Putnam and Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall, backed by President Truman, might destroy the myth built up in the last five years that a price increase

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is properly a brother reflex of a wage increase. The shattering of this myth, while limiting unwarranted industry profits, would be the greatest possible reinforcement to stabilization and deterrent to inflation.

The WSB in the course of the last year, carefully evolved a yardstick by which to measure grievances and propose settlements between labor and management. This yardstick, largely devised by the public members of the Board, with expected reservations by labor and management members, became accepted WSB policy.

Application of the standard yardstick to the steel-wage dispute resulted in recommendation by the WSB of a 17.5 cent increase for the CIO Steelworkers this year and an additional six-cent increase next year.

Charles Wilson denounced this decision as shocking, unfair to the steel industry and a threat to the anti-inflation program. Mr. Wilson should logically have been far more shocked by the fact that the powerful and profitable steel industry is actually so far in arrears in its pay to its employees.

The following benefits, largely standard in most of American industry, have been denied to the steelworkers:

Recent cost-of-living increases
Productivity increases
Six to eight holidays with pay
Standard premium rates for Saturday and Sunday work
Adequate shift differentials.

The WSB, after a thorough weighing of the issues in gruelling day and night sessions which even brought about the physical collapse of its chairman, Nathan Feinsinger, voted to recommend that the industry in its contract bargaining with the union grant these benefits. The labor members of the Board, while condemning the recommendation which fell far short of the 34-cent raise asked by the union, joined the public members to make up the majority. The industry members dissented, although they surprisingly approved of benefits not much smaller than those accepted by the majority.

A torrent of abuse has been showered on the heads of the public members. They are widely charged with being pro-labor. Actually, the public members of the Board are astute authorities in the problems of labor-management relationships. Most of them are accepted as impartial arbitrators of disputes by both companies and unions. If they had displayed any marked bias they would have long since been rejected by either one or the other.

Last December the *New Republic*, in considering the steel-wage question, suggested a 15-cent increase be awarded the Steelworkers. We said that this should be entirely absorbed by industry. We further stated that under the Economic Stabilization Administrator's guide to what is normally considered "generally fair and equitable" prices, the 49 major steel companies could give their workers a 35-cent wage increase without being entitled to a price increase. Actually, we lowered the figure almost 20 cents from 55 cents due to "possible increased costs and contingencies for error."

In light of the above factors we see no reason why the steel industry should be permitted even one cent more than the approximately $2 a ton increase which is mandatory under the Capehart Amendment to the Defense Production Act. It has been conclusively proved that the industry can absorb the recommended WSB increase. It is past time to halt the practice of the last five years by which the steel industry has been making 10 cents on every five-cent increase given the Steelworkers. If the rest of the federal government can continue to show the same determination as the WSB to accept fact for fact, we may yet be able to achieve fair wages for Steelworkers, maintain our economic stabilization and avoid a strike.

THE WEEK

McCARTHY AND THE COURTS

The outcome of three court suits—two filed by Joseph McCarthy and one filed against him—could make him either the richest or poorest man in the US Senate. The Wisconsin Republican is presently involved in suits totaling nearly $10 million.

Columnist Drew Pearson last year filed a $5.1 million suit for damages against McCarthy in Federal Court, but so far the suit has not found a place on the court calendar in Washington, D. C. Six weeks ago, Senator McCarthy filed a $2 million libel suit against the Syracuse *Post Standard*, which had editorialized to the effect that McCarthy's qualifications as a Senator were open to question. But the latest case—filed by McCarthy against one of his own colleagues in the Senate, William Benton (D, Conn.)—is the one which will attract as much attention as the national political conventions if it gets to court this year. The suit may be legally termed "libel," but the issue before the court will actually be "McCarthyism."

Benton, who has waged an almost single-handed fight to unseat McCarthy since last November, waived his Congressional immunity from libel or slander suits on all testimony and speeches

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he had made before Congress, among which is the statement that McCarthy in pressing his Communists-in-the-government charges "had knowingly practiced fraud and deceit against the Senate and the American people." McCarthy, who is up for re-election this year, found himself in the embarrassing position of having to file suit against Benton or prove some of the outlandish charges he has been making, and the former apparently seemed the easier.

So far, only Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D, N.Y.) has praised Senator Benton for his efforts to "require decency, integrity and responsibility" in the Senate. "I am glad this is out in the open," said Senator Lehman. "I have no doubts as to the outcome, if it is, indeed, pressed to a conclusion and is not just an act of forced bravado." It is time perhaps for another Declaration of Conscience such as the one proclaimed by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R, Me.) and five other Republicans on June 1, 1950, when Jumping Joe created "McCarthyism." But in election years such courage is rare.

NO VISAS TILL 2274?

The battle of the Displaced Persons bill, in which the country's liberal forces flexed their muscles to prevent Sen. Pat McCarran from shutting the door on Europe's hapless refugees, is about to be fought over again. The Displaced Persons Commission is ending its activities, and President Truman has asked new legislation to open the doors of the US to 300,000 additional immigrants. The new program is aimed primarily at allowing the US to absorb its share of the organic—as distinct from the war-caused—over-population in Western Europe, mainly in Germany, Italy and Holland. In addition it would allow 7,000 refugees from Eastern Europe to enter the country annually. As the law stands now, immigration visas for Latvians are mortgaged till the year 2274, those for Estonians until 2146 and those of Poles until 2000.

The Senate's nativists led by McCarran who heads the crucial Immigration subcommittee are sure to try to wreck the President's far-sighted proposals. Far from opening the floodgates, the new plan would allow US haven to only a small percentage of the Europeans who want to and should emigrate. But it has been written to fit into the larger international program currently being sketched out by the Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe.

AFRICA REVOLTS

When you discount the few million white settlers who during past centuries have entrenched themselves in the ports and the most fertile farm areas, Africa is inhabited by two large and disjointed racial blocs; the Arabs in the north and the Negroes in the south. At the moment the Arabs are in full-scale revolt against the French, and the less well-organized Negroes to the south are restive and angry. If modern communications, arms and civil power were not fully in the hands of whites, and revolutions came about as the eighteenth century philosophers thought they should, Africa would ditch the West tomorrow and drive its rulers into the sea.

The trouble between the Arabs and the French reached a new climax when the French Resident-General in Tunisia, Jean-Marie de Hautecloque, acting on what appears to have been carte-blanche from his superiors in Paris, resorted to naked force in an attempt to squelch the Tunisian independents, organized through the Neo-Destour party. Without thought to where similar tactics had led in Indo-China, the French imprisoned all members of the Tunisian Government, isolated the figure-head Bey of Tunisia and imposed martial law on the country's Moslem population. They did this in full cognizance of the fact that the rest of their North African territories would rise against them at the first possible chance.

The same variety of force—as distinct from power—politics was at the same time being employed 4,000 miles to the south where Premier Malan's Union of South Africa Government was attempting to override a white court's ruling that it had acted unconstitutionally in practically revoking the franchise of its mulatto voters. Since Malan has gone far in his attempt to extend his power to the British protectorates which border the Union on the north, his action intensified the hitherto muted protests of Negro Africa. Last week Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of the Gold Coast and the only near-independent Negro leader in Africa, sent a letter to the UN in which he diplomatically expressed "increasing apprehension" at Malan's repressionist policy. More bluntly, he declared that "the expansionist policy of the Union is arousing all Africa to the dangers of racial domination."

In their short-sightedness, the French and South African policies are based on a similar concern: the protection of a small and outnumbered white ruling elite which understandably enough does not want to give up its privileges. Of the two, Malan's policy is the more vicious and better planned. Malan is deliberately aggravating the deep race-relations problem in South Africa to build a barrier against the aspiring Negroes. The French have no deep-lying race problem to contend with since their settlers could probably adjust their cultural and economic life to a changed political picture very easily. They have simply let themselves become futilely entrenched in their refusal to recognize Arab nationalism for the power it is.

Both situations cry for intervention by the UN. The Union of South Africa is already on the carpet for its maladministration of Southwest Africa, but the pressure against her lacks big-power backing. France narrowly missed being called to account when the UN Assembly last year postponed a discussion of the Moroccan situation by a 28-23 vote. The US voted with the postponers on the flimsy argument that UN debate would make it difficult for France to carry out her planned "reforms." A. J. HEIDENHEIMER

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RICHES FOR THE RICH

THE "millionaires'" tax amendment, limiting personal and corporate income taxes to not more than 25 percent, has been so widely misinterpreted by its proponents that Congress and the US Treasury have combined efforts to make a comprehensive analysis of its implications. The report, just released by the Joint Committee on the Economic Report and the House Committee on Small Business, warns that the amendment, aside from being grossly inequitable, would "seriously impair" the ability of the government to meet essential expenditures in emergency periods such as the present one.

The proposed amendment would reduce federal tax revenues by over $16 billion—or more than 30 percent of the income and estate and gift taxes collected last year. Reductions in corporate taxes would amount for $14 billion, including $3.5 billion from excess-profits tax which would be wiped out completely. While income taxes would decline about $2.1 billion, estate and gift taxes would drop from $750 million to $630 million, the report reveals.

One of the most erroneous theories, put forth by the Committee for Constitutional Government which has been the chief lobby in favor of the millionaires' amendment, is that *everyone's* taxes would be reduced. Actually, the great majority of people—those who are single with less than $2,000 net income and married persons with two dependents who earn less than $20,000 —would receive no relief since their taxes already are less than 25 percent. "Only about 450,000 out of 42 million taxpayers, or about one percent, would benefit from the amendment," according to the report. At the $25,000 net-income level for a married person with two dependents, the tax reduction would amount to $754 (11 percent); at the $50,000 level, the reduction would be $8,586 (41 percent); $31,032 (55 percent) at $100,000; and $621,224 (71 percent) at $1 million. Tax savings would increase directly with the size of incomes, contrary to our present system of tax equality.

The CCG recently held a meeting on the 25-percent limitation in Texas, inviting a number of wealthy people to attend. Rep. Wright Patman (D, Tex.), who has campaigned against the scheme for over a decade, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that the sponsors of the meeting asked the audience to take cards and determine for themselves how much money they would save by the amendment. "Naturally," said Patman, "they found that they would save huge sums of money if such a limitation were in effect. They [CCG] didn't have any trouble getting a lot of money for its fund to campaign for this limitation before the legislatures."

Moreover, corporations regardless of size would be subject to the same 25-percent tax rate, and the preferential treatment granted to small corporations would be eliminated. Just as the amendment "would shift the individual tax burden from the rich to the poor, so it would shift the corporate tax burden from the large to the small." Corporations with incomes of $25,000 or less would receive a tax reduction from the 1951 level of only about 17 percent; larger corporations would receive over 50 percent and tax savings might run as high as 64 percent. "By depriving small business of the present tax differential," the report points out, "the proposed amendment would seriously weaken their competitive position. . . . It would provide a strong stimulant to industrial concentration, and by jeopardizing the small-business segment of our economy, jeopardize the entire economic system."

By placing a "strait-jacket" on the Federal Revenue system, the report shows, the proposal gives no recognition to large defense requirements in an emergency short of war. While the amendment permits tax limitation to be suspended during wartime, it fails to recognize that part of war costs is ordinarily carried over to the postwar period and remains a burden long after the termination of hostilities. This year, for example, expenditures for past wars and for the prevention of another world war total about $61 billion or 86 percent of the federal budget ($50 billion for direct military expenditures and $11 million for interest on the public debt and veterans' services and benefits). Some $10 billion, or 14 percent of the federal budget, will be used to carry on the remaining functions of government. "Current expenditures for defense and for fixed charges place a practical floor below which federal spending cannot go," the report says. "Accordingly, the revenue loss under the amendment would be completely offset only by a cut in the defense program or by borrowing."

Although the movement for the millionaires' amendment began in 1938, it has only in the past few years received mounting recognition. The Korean War which brought about the need for higher taxes gave proponents new ammunition to peddle in the state legislatures. Last year the legislatures of five states—Florida, Kansas, Montana, Nevada and Utah—approved the proposal, pushing the total to 24 (only 32 states are needed to force Congress to call a constitutional convention). Of the 24 that have passed the measure, however, seven legislatures rescinded the action and two were vetoed by the Governor. States where the resolution is now in effect include: Wyoming, Mississippi, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Delaware, Indiana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Louisiana, Florida, Kansas, Nevada, Utah and Georgia.

Colorado was the first state to consider the issue this year. The heavily Republican House passed it by a one-vote margin, 30 to 29. But fortunately the State's United Labor Legislative Committee button-holed enough Senators to defeat the millionaire tax amendment by a vote of 18 to 13.

JEAN BEGEMAN

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GERMANY: LAST CHANCE

THE Anglo-Franco-American reply to the latest Soviet note on Germany is a step in the right direction. At least, it takes the Soviet gesture with some of the seriousness which a very large number of Europeans think imperative under the circumstances. For the Soviet note is widely regarded in Western Europe as perhaps the most important—and also the most disturbing — development in naked power politics since the end of the war. Indeed, the professionals in such matters—permanent officials in the foreign offices, historians and diplomatic correspondents—believe that the spectacular shift in Soviet tactics from unswerving opposition to German rearmament toward acceptance of a new rise to German military power has had no direct precedent or parallel since the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August, 1939.

The opinion is widespread that the Soviet leaders really wanted to contain rising Nazi-German power in the 1930s and were willing to pay a big price in terms of co-operation with England, France and the West. If the West had been willing to fight over Czechoslovakia, the Russians would have fought too. Moscow was sincerely anti-Munich. The reason was not ideological. It was that the Soviets, following a major line of traditional Russian power politics, have a species of Monroe Doctrine about China in Asia and Germany in Europe: no outside power must be allowed to dominate either; but if independent power within either China or Germany becomes too great, there must be co-operation with the outside power to restore relative weakness.

Moscow wanted in the late 1930s to co-operate to break Nazi-German power. It was after the failure of Litvinov's efforts, after the West's appeasement, after Munich and the breakdown of the military talks with the British that the Russians changed their tactics. If the West would not help contain German power, the new line was to turn that power against the West.

The latest Soviet note makes clear that Moscow is now to help the re-creation of independent military power in a united Germany. Again the reason is far from ideological: it is the most ruthless application of that kind of materialistic interpretation which the Marxists in the Kremlin—who are also Russian power politicians — counterpose to the West's professions of moralistic interpretation of history.

The Russians are more afraid of an armed West Germany within an Atlantic community or coalition than they are of an armed united Germany which may (indeed, will almost certainly) not only attain self-dominance but strive once more for European, if not world, dominance. Above all, Russia wants to prevent the *political* unification of Europe against her, for a West German armed force spearheading such a combination would be fatal. So, the recent note uses German unification as a weapon against European unification.

The attitude toward the note in England has been that it may represent a last chance to avoid the final division of Germany. For example, the *Times* of London wrote:

> It is largely because Germany no longer exists as an independent power that the Red Army now stands on the Elbe. In order to bring about a peaceful Russian withdrawal it may be necessary to re-create an independent Germany. . . . It is not necessarily an attractive alternative; it may be a dangerous alternative; but at least it is practical. . . . The statesmen . . . can hardly rest content with things as they are. . . . It is difficult to say dogmatically that even the dangerous, complex and fascinating prospect of a united and independent Germany, armed within limits, is any worse than this.

There is no doubt that a vast majority of the French are even more opposed to the rise of an independent German army than they are to a German contingent in a European army. And much blame for the Russian change in tactics is put on the West.

The West made clear at Lisbon that it was determined to create, sooner or later, a German army of 12 divisions or more. The danger for Russia would be to have this army under the West's control. The officers, however, would have to be those of Hitler's Wehrmacht because there are no others available, and these officers are already protesting that they want an independent army. If Russia offers them such a chance, they will moreover be tempted to go along—at least temporarily—with a power that already has 180 divisions under arms, 30 of them in Europe. Most Germans are anti-Communist but the ideological question is unimportant because the army, which is also anti-democratic, will hold the balance of power. The *Monde* of Paris commented:

> One thing is certain; if the present evolution continues, the price will be paid, first by democracy, then by Europe, especially France. . . . If there is any chance of making a united democratic Europe, it rests on a Franco-German entente. That seemed possible — perhaps for the first time—between a democratic France and a Germany which seemed finally to be losing its taste for militarism. . . . If we insist on stimulating the military spirit in Germany, we will sooner or later see once more Germany's will to power and France's fear and defense reaction.

What is important in this is that it is typical of a French attitude of resistance to Atlanticism which had been changing slowly; and also that it is in its revived form linked with an effort to get the French National Assembly to refuse to ratify the European Army, the European Defense Community, and the Lisbon decisions which imply the rearmament of West Germany. For behind it is not only the fear of German rearmament, but also the dread of a competition in courtship of Germany between the Americans and the Russians.

The personal attitudes of leading Americans over here, from General Eisenhower through Ambassadors Draper, Murphy and Dunn to much smaller fry, suggest to the Europeans that, quite apart from present military exigencies, the Americans tend to be pro-German. Even those European professionals of power politics and history, who can understand the Machiavellianism of Talley-

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rand and Metternich, are rather alarmed by American affection for Bismarck, coupled with a professedly moralistic interpretation of history.

For example, the *Times* says of the American historian, William L. Langer, the official State Department apologist for the Vichy policy, that, "He can never understand the motives of those who resisted German hegemony"; that he is consistently and unfairly pro-German; and that "the younger generation of American historians and American diplomatists are growing up under his shadow." The *Times* refers to Professor Langer's "defective moral judgment"; and there has been serious criticism of the ruthless power-politics approach of the new American Ambassador to Moscow, George J. Kennan, in his recently published essays on American diplomacy.

Even more troubling than the various suggestions of a friendliness toward power politics, when done by the Germans, is the fact that 72 leading Americans recently signed a Message to the Peoples of Russia containing what Europeans consider serious distortions of historical fact. Europeans do not believe, for example, that the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, was a democratic expression of all classes of the Russian people. It is unfortunate, the Europeans believe, that Americans have to invoke phony history in the name of idealism, of morality, of freedom; while the Russians can appeal to real history on behalf of the realities of power politics. And it is even more unfortunate that the reply to the latest Soviet note tries to defend a conception of future history—to hold fast to both the theory and the substance of the European "position of strength"—rather than face the grimly real possibility of the Russian-sponsored re-emergence of a German position of power.

Paris PERCY WINNER

THE NEW TELEVISION AGE

by Benjamin J. Atlas

THE NEW gold rush in television is beginning. After three and a half years, the Federal Communications Commission is thawing its freeze on new telecasting stations, and eventually there may be as many as 3,000 more. The present 12 channels, which are now occupied by 108 stations in 63 cities, reaching an audience of more than 60 million people, are in what electronic engineers call the Very High Frequency range (VHF). There is space for more than 350 others in the VHF band, while the rest of the new stations will be in the Ultra High Frequency range (UHF), permitting this large increase in number without overlapping.

Contrary to what many people think, however, this program will take years to fulfill. The FCC realizes that its actions now may set up a pattern that cannot be changed for many decades to come, and it is moving cautiously. There will be prolonged hearings to decide among the numerous contestants who are seeking the choicest frequencies in the best locations; already more than 500 applications have been filed. Moreover, the badly understaffed Commission will be in the throes of decisions on other major problems, such as TV in theatres and subscription television, for which there are already various rival plans. Some materials are still scarce because of wartime priorities.

If you already own a television receiver, will you need to have it modified after the new UHF stations are on the air? This will depend partly on where you live, and partly on your personal desires. Some cities will have UHF stations exclusively, others will continue with the present VHF range, and still others will have both types. Electronic manufacturers are now busily engaged in preparing to sell large numbers of special tuners to enable present sets to pick up UHF signals. These will sell for $10 to $50 or more, depending partly upon the number of UHF stations for which the owner wants his set equipped. The intention is not to change any of the present VHF telecasting stations.

The FCC has announced a plan to earmark a number of the new channels for non-commercial educational and public-service stations, and plans are being formulated by colleges, municipalities and some other groups to take advantage of these.

The tremendous social impact of television is emphasized by the incessant demand for telecasting in those parts of the country that are still without it. Members of Congress from these regions have been bombarded with mail from their constituents demanding that something be done. Chairman Edwin C. Johnson (D, Colo.) of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is among the frankest spoken of the lawmakers urging the FCC to speed up its TV allocations. "I don't know whether I dare go home," the Senator complains. "The people of my state don't like to be considered second-class citizens."

The oft-repeated notion that "the air is free" has never been more clearly debunked than since TV. Paying for air time to plug soap, cigarettes and the myriad other wares of American business is a practical requirement and is exactly what Congress had in mind in writing the Communication's Act of 1934—the industry's basic law. In addition, though, Congress wisely intended that the kilocycles would belong to the public forever so as

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to provide an equal chance to everybody, big and small businessmen alike, to own a commercial broadcast station. As events have turned out, launching a TV broadcast business has become a forbiddingly risky privilege to all but financial mammoths. Average annual expenses for TV stations in New York and Los Angeles last year ran $2,688,000 apiece. Eight of those stations had to have dollar reserves stacked high enough to absorb average losses of $538,000 each during the year.

Seeking even an uncontested frequency in a small town would be foolhardy without having access to at least $500,000. Rock-bottom costs just for construction of a VHF station in cities of less than 50,000 population will run at least $220,000 at present dollar values, according to a study by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. In larger cities, the bare construction cost will be from $275,000 to around $550,000. Building a UHF station, though its signal is limited to a smaller range, paradoxically will cost even more.

Exactly how much ready money is needed to keep a TV station afloat through its first year is conjecture. A few of the current applicants are guessing as low as $90,000 for middle-sized city stations, but the average estimate runs closer to $200,000, which was the lowest figure reported by any TV station for operating expenses last year.

While in theory anybody might get an FCC license for a new telecasting station if he can show that he is of good character, and amply financed, and will pledge himself to keep "the public interest" always in mind, getting a license is, in fact, likely to prove an expensive business, all by itself. In the fierce competition for the new frequencies, the applicant will need to spend plenty for costly engineering and legal talent, and be prepared to sit out a long siege before the FCC.

Already, however, it is possible to see who are likely to be the owners of the new stations; broadly speaking, they will be the same as the present group: radio networks, individual radio stations, newspaper publishers, manufacturers of TV sets and other electronic equipment, and movie and theatre interests. In numerous cities, the tendency toward local monopoly of newspapers is extended when the newspaper publisher also owns radio and television broadcasting stations, as he so often does. The present rush for frequencies has brought in such important applicants as United Paramount Theatres, Inc., and Henry Luce, the magazine publisher. New TV stations will provide an enormous expansion of many aspects of industry. The present number of 16 million television sets, which have cost the public about $6.5 billion, is expected to triple, to a present estimate of about 50 million. Employment will be furnished to hundreds of thousands in real estate, the construction industry, repair and service establishments, advertising agencies, the making of motion pictures for telecasting, operations, and to entertainers, news commentators, writers and others who will profit, directly or indirectly, from the fabulous new giant of the world of communications.

A year or two ago, radio seemed to be declining as TV took the spotlight; but the fears that were then expressed now seem to have been largely unnecessary. Prophets of disaster have been surprised to find that today the radio audience appears to be as large as ever. More broadcasting stations are on the air than ever before, and when a radio station is sold, it commands the highest price in three years. It is true that in 1951, TV's earnings from advertising exceeded those from radio for the first time; they more than doubled, while radio's income went down by about $6 million. Yet it seems clear that there is still plenty of room for radio. TV is fabulously expensive, and time salesmen are shrewdly exploiting radio's lower rates and its still vast audience. The nation has about 105 million radio sets, of which about 24 million are in automobiles; last year, about 5.4 million new sets were bought, of which about a million were for use in homes, and the remainder in cars. Proof that TV cannot crowd its older sister out of the nest is shown by such a city as Washington, D. C. Although there are four flourishing TV stations and the number of TV sets in homes is nearing the saturation mark, there are no fewer than 17 radio stations, of which four are AM, three are FM and 10 are both.

The experts who predict an eventual 50 million TV sets in this country are not unmindful of the fact that several times in the past year or two overproduction of TV sets has been witnessed, requiring drastic price cuts to clear excess stock in the hands of dealers. The experts are counting partly on the tremendous eagerness, mentioned earlier, of people in regions where telecasting does not yet exist. There are many instances of people who have actually bought sets many months or even years before there was any expectancy that they would have anything to receive.

Typical of their attitude was that of a Texan who wrote the FCC to ask whether he should buy a television set. The FCC answered that he should not, since he was out of range of any telecasting station, unless someone were to build a special (and very expensive) tall antenna tower in his vicinity. The next letter the Commission got from the Texan was one announcing that in spite of the FCC's advice he had gone ahead and bought a set. "Since I can't get anything on my set," he wrote, "will you please send a crew down here to help me build a tower?"

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CONSECRATED TORY — ROBERT A. TAFT

IV. Fighting Bob and "Dugout Doug"

ROBERT TAFT, in the view of Walter Lippmann, is "a rather striking example of the thoroughly confused man." In European policy Taft's confusion can be charitably attributed to a desire to avoid war. In Asia it cannot. The Administration's policy for the last three years has been one of avoiding all-out war with Communist China; therefore, in Asia Taft has become an advocate of all-out war.

The reason is not Taft's innate concern for Asia. He and his colleagues did become so enmeshed with Chiang Kai-shek that Lippmann protested that "they are compelling us to go down lashed to the mast of Chiang's rotten and sinking ship." Yet, unlike the charter members of the China Lobby, Taft was a disinterested advocate of Chiang. Nor is he convinced that our front lines lie around Tonkin. His concern has been simply to hound Truman and Acheson and to exploit to the full our defeats.

Taft subscribes to his party's official view that Asia was ours to give away, and that Roosevelt, Truman, Acheson and Marshall gave it to Stalin while under the mesmeric influence of Alger Hiss. In his book Taft states that the Administration "encouraged the growth of the power of Communism in Asia." On April 27, 1951, in the Senate he charged that General Marshall deliberately starved and "seriously hampered" the Nationalists "in their entire battle with the Chinese Communists." In the same speech he claimed that Communist sympathizers in the State Department had kept the South Koreans disarmed. His conclusion was: "Our government invited the invasion of Korea by the weakness of its policy."

The truth, most experts believe, was a little different. Chiang fell through his own corruption; Marshall's policy was in fact endorsed by Generals MacArthur and Wedemeyer and Admiral Spruance, who jointly advised President Truman, on December 7, 1945, to "bring together and effect a compromise between the major opposing groups" in China. Taft strongly opposed sending even a military mission to Chiang in 1946; it was the Administration that proposed a three-year program of building up South Korea and the 80th Congress, under Taft's leadership, that turned thumbs down on South Korea. If any act of the US invited attack, it was the vote of Congress in denying further aid to South Korea.

When war broke in Korea, Gen. Douglas MacArthur became the dominant figure in shaping the Asian policy of the Republican Party and of Senator Taft. MacArthur is a believer in Manifest Destiny in Asia. He is quite certain that the Oriental respects the white man when the white man uses force. For most of his career in Asia MacArthur never considered China a military power. Blindness or duplicity led him to ignore repeated warnings of Chinese intervention in Korea. But when the Chinese Communists ripped through his lines with one quarter of the troops he publicly attributed to them, MacArthur reversed his judgment. He declared that China was "a new and dominant power in Asia." He insisted that the West should engage China at once in all-out war.

Thus MacArthur drew the issue in Asia and confronted a tormented Secretary of State and an embattled President with the greatest challenge they ever faced. Taft, sensing the political potentialities of this challenge, abandoned his peace platform and rushed into MacArthur's camp. But unlike MacArthur, who conceded that the war would not be easy, Taft argued that war against all China, with its limitless frontiers, would be easier than war on a 150-mile front in Korea. Taft called for the widening of the Korean War, and he added: "If this brings war between the US and the Chinese . . . it would be a much less dangerous war to us, much less fatal to our men, and much less expensive in materiel."

Lippmann in April, 1951, summed up the contrasts in the attitudes of MacArthur and Taft on war with China:

> The General does not say and obviously he does not believe that this would be the comparatively easy little war fought largely with Chiang's infantry which Senator Taft is dreaming about. The war which the General is advocating is the great war which, he contends, would decide the world-wide conflict. He wants the third world war now, and he wants to fight it in the Far East.

MacArthur scorned the Nationalist troops in Formosa as "an albatross around our necks." Taft, working the other side of the street, saw in them the miracle that would assure every American mother that her boy could stay home. He told the Senate on April 27, 1951, that Chiang's "500,000 soldiers . . . well-trained and ready to go . . . could keep South China in an uproar." "The truth is," Taft added, "that this policy is not undertaken first because of the prejudices of Secretary of State Acheson and Secretary Marshall against Chiang, and second because it would upset the trade of the British with Communist China."

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Taft had no time for the frills of a political program. Point Four he regards as wasteful and futile. "A Chinese Nationalist invasion of Communist-held territory," he declared in his Seattle address on February 13, was the one hope of checking Communism in Asia. "An invasion," he added, "might snowball rapidly." In an adventurist vein, he concluded with a curious proverb about Americans: "Better an army of goats led by a lion than an army of lions led by a goat."

While the Republicans of Seattle cheered lustily, the Nationalists on Formosa remained silent. And no wonder! To Taft, the sight of himself as President, unleashing Chiang's dogs of war, was no doubt inspiring. To Chiang, basking on Formosa, to his wife, absorbed in painting Chinese characters, and to his demoralized troops it was unwelcome to say the least. Entertaining traveling Senators was one thing; invading China, something else.

Chiang's 300,000 assorted troops and officers (200,000 were lost in transit from Republican headquarters) are, according to the testimony of all experts including General MacArthur, poorly equipped, poorly organized, inadequately armed and top-heavy with brass. There has been little material change in the situation since the summer of 1950 when General MacArthur rejected a contingent of Nationalists for duty in Korea.

Conceivably, the remnants of Chiang's mainland army can be built into a modern army. A thorough military-aid program, given full co-operation from Chiang and his legion of dispossessed generals, might cut through traditional red tape and customary Oriental army graft and produce a hard core of combat troops. Working from the base figure of 300,000, the resulting table of organizations might include a combat force of upward of 150,000 supported by another 150,000 troops assigned to the usual behind-the-lines duties such as engineers, medical units, transportation corps, administration offices, military police and other units for logistical support. This force might fight, presuming that the US is willing to spend money for a program which would be almost as costly as it is now to maintain seven US combat divisions and their support organization in Korea, presuming further that an American training mission could successfully rid the Chinese Nationalist army staff of its obsolete concepts and its political ties and presuming also that the Nationalist soldier was willing to fight against his brethren in his homeland.

Now let us see what a force of 300,000 Nationalist troops could accomplish. Some idea of the requirements for a major amphibious operation can be had from the experience of General MacArthur's invasion of Leyte, in October, 1944. The enemy consisted of an estimated 25,000 Japanese. To overcome this initial resistance, MacArthur put ashore about 90,000 combat troops, plus a few thousand more support units to consolidate and build up the beachhead. As reserve, the General held in readiness another entire Army, the Eighth, consisting of more than 100,000 men and their support units. Being an island, Leyte did not require as big an initial invasion force as was the case, for instance, in the planning of the invasion of Kyushu—where the battle plan for this initial invasion of Japan proper called for three American corps, each consisting of three divisions.

A Nationalist invasion of the China mainland would have to reckon, of course, with a far larger enemy resistance than was encountered at Leyte at any time. Its one chance would be in a landing on the coast at some point such as Amoy, where the poor communications with other parts of the mainland would probably preclude any major enemy concentration of resistance for possibly as long as 30 to 60 days. Because of the lack of Chinese Communist naval strength, there would be little need of a major naval support force. But for tactical air support, carriers would be needed. The US would have to make up for this deficiency in Nationalist equipment, as well as make a gigantic outlay for amphibious craft and trained amphibious personnel.

Once ashore, the burden of maintaining a Nationalist army would fall largely upon US taxpayers. Because the Nationalists have no equipment of their own, and no arsenals for producing it, the US would have to provide virtually everything—including payrolls—and transport it 7,000 miles. A rough estimate of the cost—exclusive of the initial landing support—can be calculated on the basis of the French outlay in Indo-China. Fighting a relatively leisurely series of campaigns with a force of some 200,000 French, German, African and native troops —about two-thirds the size of Chiang's probable army—costs the French Government annually about $1.2 billion. A sustained offensive would be more expensive.

What if Chiang failed in an invasion attempt? Then the US would be committed to go to Chiang's aid with US ground forces and to accept a full-scale military venture on the mainland which not only has been forcefully discouraged by all of our military chieftains, but would repudiate Senator Taft's own plan for avoiding the commitment of US ground forces.

No responsible American leader today would seriously consider such a risky venture. The Nationalists might be "souped up" to carry out minor raids on islands off the mainland. But the value of such raids, normally, is to make the enemy believe they are a forerunner of bigger assaults. And if the Communists know as much about

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the Nationalists as do our own military staffs, they would hardly be inclined to accept the bait. The US is hard-pressed now to maintain seven divisions in Korea. What little air force is deployed around the Korean battle area is far from adequate to assure defense of our own troops in Korea if the enemy should decide to throw in his available air potential. In addition the Russians have 5,000 fighters poised against the real target—Japan. The bogging down of our remaining forces in China would amount to an almost irresistible temptation to the Russians to attack. Japan would lie open before them, and at the first sign of action we would have to abandon China and Korea as well.

Taft must know this. The blunt truth is that his present line of policy for Asia is geared to appeal to those Americans who, poorly equipped with factual information and suffering from acute national frustration as a result of the Korean episode, grasp for simplified solutions. Not one of these voters, given the facts, could endorse Taft's dangerous adventurism. Unfortunately, during an election year, there is little inclination in Washington to disclose publicly that the country is far behind in defense equipment, that our major security areas are in danger and that despite all the assurances of might and superiority we are still lagging and operating with a precarious margin of military safety reminiscent of Guadalcanal days in the Pacific war.

There is substantial evidence to show that Taft, far

from being even now decisive in his Far Eastern policy, is actually a very confused man on that subject. Although he has frequently condemned the Korean War as a "Truman War," and decried the present truce negotiations, he reversed himself notably on *Meet the Press* on March 9 when he said that he "went along" with the truce talks at this time and would recommend that nothing more in the military line be done until it is apparent which way they will go.

Even stronger evidence of his confusion can be seen in the divergence of opinion on Far Eastern solutions between him and General MacArthur.

Throughout his campaigning, Taft has assiduously worked to convince his audiences that he is at one with MacArthur, particularly on such issues as the bombing of Chinese Communist bases in Manchuria, the blockading of the China Coast, and the utilization of Chinese Nationalist armies. A close study of General MacArthur's testimony before Congress in May, 1951, and Taft's statements at that time and since, discloses the difference.

General MacArthur's recommendations for the Far East add up in essence to a policy which would generally increase the involvement of American ground, sea and air forces in the Far East. As the General wrote Representative Martin, "We must meet force with maximum counterforce." MacArthur has frequently pointed out that wars are not won by naval and air forces alone; that the ground forces are the decisive factor.

Taft, on the other hand, makes it clear that he wants to limit America's involvement, particularly in terms of ground forces. The key to his thinking appears to be in his remarks, while on his West Coast tour in February, that if the Nationalist armies were properly trained and equipped, it should not be necessary to send further American ground forces to the Far East. Taft goes along with MacArthur in advocating the blockade and bombing of Manchuria. But he seems to feel that this alone would be sufficient to do the job—a concept of war, incidentally, which no US military leader in history has held.

Neither Taft nor MacArthur have explained how they would enforce a naval blockade of the China Coast when it is a well-known fact in General Ridgway's command in Tokyo that the main supply line to the Korean War front is via the Trans-Siberian Railway and for seaborne supplies (particularly gas and oil) via Vladivostok. If the US did not blockade Vladivostok and bomb the Trans-Siberian Railway, we would be in the same position which General MacArthur himself frequently described as facing an enemy who had a "privileged sanctuary."

Taft's Asian policy would spell disaster—it would break up the Atlantic alliance, destroy the UN, open the way for a Soviet invasion of Europe and Japan, and mire the US in an endless war on the mainland of Asia with no aim, and countless loss of American lives. As Lippmann wrote:

> Great victories can never be won cheaply but only with blood and sweat and tears. The great wars which must be waged in order to win great victories should not be begun in the illusion or under the pretense that they are little and easy wars.

This is the fourth in a series. The next article will deal with Senator Taft's "Welfare" State.

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ISRAEL: *The New Economic Policy*

THE LOCAL PRESS has been quick to dub the government's disinflationary measures the New Economic Policy. But the similarity with Soviet Russia's NEP is only superficial. There has been no revolutionary reversal of policy, but rather a somewhat belated official recognition of Israel's financial crisis.

The crisis was caused by the cost of mass immigration, by the need to maintain a strong defense force, by the tremendous demands of capital expansion, and by comparatively low industrial output. Any one of these factors would alone have been inflationary, but they were unavoidable. For humanitarian and ideological reasons it was inconceivable to limit immigration, which in three years has doubled the country's population. Until peace is signed with the reluctant Arabs, a large army is essential. Housing, schools and hospitals must be provided for a growing population, and on quick industrial and agricultural development Israel's stability will largely depend. Many Oriental immigrants have low standards and low output, while factories are forced to use outdated methods and outdated machinery. Yet in spite of this, Israel has tried to maintain the living standards of a well-established, highly industrialized Western country. For three years the large export deficit (over $700 million in three years—seven times the value of exports) was to a great extent covered by donations, foreign loans and capital imports. But the official exchange rate of the Israel pound was out of all proportion to its actual buying power.

The new measures—a triple exchange rate for the Israel pound (which amounts to indirect subsidy or taxation), a balanced budget, greater incentives for local production and foreign investment—are therefore designed to promote self-sufficiency, and to bring down the standard of living to a more realistic level.

Politically, the reaction has been typical. The extreme Left talks of "selling out" to the capitalists, while the extreme Right demands less controls. But the success of the policy will ultimately depend on public reaction. After weeks of doubt and depression, the public was prepared to hear serious news, but it needed new inspiration—a moral and patriotic shot in the arm. But the usually dynamic Prime Minister unwisely chose to present his policy to the Knesset as a sermon, prefaced by an impressive, but unwieldy statistical review of Israel's development during the past three years. At the end of the speech the public was still confused. How would the changes affect them? Would prices go up? What about wages? Would there be more food?

Two days later a puzzled public got its first shock when, without any statement from the government, fuel prices rose anything from 65 to 150 percent. Fuel prices influence the cost of practically everything else; of electricity and vegetables, of bus fares and building materials, of anything that must be moved by road or by rail. With new exchange rates, the increases were inevitable, but no warning and no reasons were given. Public confidence in the government was seriously damaged by the government's lack of confidence in the public. The success of the new policy, which, fundamentally, is a wise policy, depends on the government's strength and leadership, and on public co-operation and self-discipline. In Israel neither of these qualities is typical.

One of the reasons that the new policy was not clearly and immediately understood was that the government failed to make good use of the radio. A lucid explanation by Mr. Ben Gurion of the aim of the new economic measures—a sort of "fireside chat"—would have been far more valuable than repeated broadcasts of the Prime Minister's long-winded speech to the Knesset.

The radio here is a state monopoly, and no commercial broadcasting is allowed. But like the BBC, Kol Israel—the Voice of Israel—maintains a fair and non-partisan approach to the news. With thousands of immigrants arriving from all over the world, Israel's radio is an invaluable medium for creating a homogeneous, Hebrew-speaking nation, but it is greatly hampered by a shortage of technical equipment and technical staff. However teaching, entertaining and reporting in 10 languages, Kol Israel is on the air 16 hours a day. In addition to Hebrew, there are programs in Arabic, French, English, Yiddish, Ladino (the Spanish dialect of certain Sephardic communities), Turkish, Rumanian and in the Hebrew peculiar to Jews from the Yemen. A program has been inaugurated, devoted to these foreign-language broadcasts.

Jerusalem DAN SAMUEL

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE LATER LAWRENCE

THE LATER D. H. LAWRENCE, by William York Tindall (Knopf; $5).

IF THE PHRASE "the later Lawrence" means anything at all, it means the Lawrence who emerged in 1926 from *The Plumed Serpent*, from the bitter exploration in three novels of what seemed like the desirable principle of the "heroic leader," the Lawrence who, enunciating in 1928 as the last best hope of man a new kind of "tenderness," wrote the great affirmations of *Apocalypse*, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and *The Ship of Death*: three different kinds of hymn to man's capacity to be human.

Bitter, surely, is the word that best describes the period that immediately preceded the last period—bitter, galled, the withers rung. And yet, in this period, where Lawrence tries to bring his characters into vital social relationships, we are at the center of the most fascinating and alarming elements in Lawrence, the artist. *Aaron's Rod* was published in the year of Mussolini's *coup d'etat*; *Plumed Serpent* was published less than four years later. Unable to see any but negative virtues (that is, vices) in democracy, which seemed to Lawrence a means of freeing the individual to mediocrity and a numbed anxiety only, he was still fairly desperate to find some means of satisfying what he himself called his "societal impulse" and of making his novels end positively in this world. So he turned to un-democratic ideas; and in these three novels, in three different ways, tried them out to see if they would work either for the novel or for life. They did not. This is the imaginative test of the theoretical abstraction, and Lawrence's greatness of mind shows in the necessity he felt to reject the abstraction when it would not work for the imagination. The first two of these novels are fragmentary, implosive structures because the author, while he cannot prove the abstraction right, is unwilling to let his story prove it wrong and lets the story stop in a negation. The third is a unified work because the lives of the characters, in the actualities of the plot, prove that the abstraction is merely abstract, that is, wrong, and the novel ends in its rejection.

Aaron's Rod presents Lawrence in the character of Lilly, who assures Aaron Sisson that he will not find himself until he finds a greater man to whom he can submit his partial individuality, but in the end, Lilly can produce no such leader, not even himself. In *Kangaroo*, Lawrence puts himself in Aaron's position, as the man who seeks the leader; but, confronted by the alternative of the socialist, Struthers, and the fascist, Kangaroo, the Lawrentian hero departs for America, where he hopes to find a more plausible choice. Then, in the *Plumed Serpent*, Lawrence tries still another device: he transforms his seeker into a woman, a jaded European who has severed her connections with her own social past and seeks fulfillment in Mexico through the leadership of two men who are trying to institutionalize a primitive religion which is not in the least unlike Lawrence's own religion of "the dark gods;" but it will not work. As the two leaders fail her, so she fails them, and discovers, with Lawrence, that there are two kinds of power: the power to dominate others, and the power to fulfill oneself. "The leader-cum-follower relationship is a bore," Lawrence wrote then, in a letter. "And the new relationship will be some sort of tenderness, sensitive, between men and men, and men and women." *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, the last novel, was first called *Tenderness*.

That is the later Lawrence, the Lawrence who kicked out, although with a dragging reluctance, the hypothetical fragments that he had tried to shore against his ruin, and was determined to attempt still to be free in the actualities of human relationship. This Lawrence is adequately if not supremely represented in the present collection. The collection is almost entirely an accident of copyright, containing, as it does, only works (with one exception) that the publisher happens to hold. This excludes most of the most important later works: *Lady Chatterley* itself, *Apocalypse*, all of *Phoenix*, the final stories, the late poems. But perhaps we should be quietly grateful for what we get.

Most of what is re-printed here is now available to us, it is true, in the inexpensive volumes of Lawrence issued not very long ago by Penguin in England. It is true, too, that *St. Mawr*, with which the collection opens, is really only a trial run for *Plumed Serpent*; and that *The Man Who Died*, the greatest piece of fiction included, has been available through New Directions for at least five or six years. *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, which contains some of Lawrence's fine meditative prose, has not previously been reprinted and is well represented here, but the essays that comprise this book were written before Lawrence had had time, in fiction, to make up his mind about tender lovers; and they represent therefore the middle rather than the later Lawrence, in my view.

What we get is at least a glimpse of the later Lawrence. What was he? He was an artist who had gone through a purgatorial period that sought escapes from freedom, and then settled with small content and no complacency into the paradise that knows what freedom is. This is the paradise that is allowed to human life when human beings can recognize that after all the sweat for something else, the value of life exists in the act of living; that living means full living, or the life of the full and not the partial self, the self that realizes its powers rather than the self that seeks power or submits to it. This is, after all, the true democracy, because it is total integration, and therefore makes possible the only creative spontaneity.

This does not mean that the later Lawrence abandoned all political views, only that he recognized something more primary. A book like *Lady Chatterley's*

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Lover is founded on a class idea, and that odd allegorical friendship between Mellors and Constance's father, toward the end of the book, simply asserts that the breakdown of class distinction would be the first result of better assumptions about what we potentially are. The breakdown of all other false distinctions would follow, and the true distinctiveness of a realized individuality would then, for the first time, become possible; because, for the first time, we would recognize it as valuable, as the only value. The later Lawrence submitted still, but only to the finest human potencies, which is to say, to the potentiality of being human.

This is a condition of supreme poise in the human facts out of which Lawrence could write, in *Apocalypse*, such ready sentences as these:

> For man the vast marvel is to be alive. For man, as for flower and beast and bird, the supreme triumph is to be most vividly, most perfectly alive . . . I am a part of the sun as the eye is a part of me. That I am a part of the earth my feet know perfectly, and my blood is a part of the sea. My soul knows that I am a part of the human race, my soul is an organic part of the great human soul, as my spirit is part of my nation. In my own very self, I am part of my family. There is nothing of me that is alone and absolute except my mind, and we shall find that the mind has no existence by itself, it is only the glitter of the sun on the surface of the stars.

This later Lawrence takes us to the place where, we had better learn, we start from; the place that we had even better start to call our home. Must it be our tragedy that this place is too large for us?

MARK SCHORER

DISEQUILIBRIUM SYSTEM

A THEORY OF PRICE CONTROL, by John Kenneth Galbraith (Harvard; $2).

WE LACK an adequate theory to explain the operation of a mobilizing or a mobilized economy. Instead of analyzing such "mixed economies," academic theorists seem content to apply mathematics and logic to a simple, make-believe world. That, as Kenneth Galbraith explains in this brief book, results in policy conclusions that are misleading.

Professor Galbraith, now at Harvard and formerly deputy administrator of the Office of Price Administration, attempts to remedy some of the deficiencies in our understanding of a controlled economy. His "essay" presents, not a systematic theory, but rather a theoretical interpretation of price and wage controls, together with some remarks on the strategy of control.

In attempting to break new ground, Professor Galbraith points to the need for new ways of thinking and distinctions between different segments of the economy. His OPA experience revealed the shortcomings of textbook theory—that considerable loose-jointedness prevails in our kind of economy, that output expansion often occurs at constant or decreasing costs, and that price movements may be cumulative rather than self-limiting.

To bring out the differences between a controlled economy and the theorist's dream world, Professor Galbraith coins the term "disequilibrium system" for the condition that existed under price control in World War II. Voluntary savings filled the gap between money incomes and available civilian goods. That gap, or "margin of tolerance", rests on public confidence in stability of the price level. Thus, price control aids the accumulation of liquid assets, whose subsequent expenditure, in turn, presents a post-war problem of inflation control.

The author's brief remarks on controls in a period of "limited mobilization," such as has existed since the Korean outbreak, seem less satisfactory than his analysis of World War II experience. Time has proved some of his assumptions incorrect; instead of strong pressure on prices and wages throughout the economy, parts of it have experienced conditions of slump, and voluntary savings have been greater than he apparently anticipated. The psychological problems of extended price and wage control under such conditions deserve further analysis, as do also the incentive aspects of wages under direct controls.

Nevertheless Professor Galbraith has made a good start on a more correct understanding of the kind of economy we are likely to have for some time to come. If the policy pronouncements of economists are to be taken seriously nowadays, they need to do much more of this sort of theorizing.

RICHARD LESTER

Mr. Lester is professor of economics at Princeton University.

THE RELIGIOUS NOVEL

THE WEAKLING AND THE ENEMY, by Francois Mauriac (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $3). THE STUMBLING BLOCK, by Francois Mauriac (Philosophical Library; $2.75).

THE FIRST OF THESE actually contains two long stories, *The Enemy*, published in France 17 years ago, and *The Weakling*, which came out last year. Though the idea of sewing a book together from two unrelated items is dubious, and the slyness of the jacket irritating, there is a certain value in having these two pieces together. From them one can surmise something of Mauriac's development; the first revealing his inner troubles as Catholic and artist, the second suggesting at least a partial resolution.

The Enemy is a portrait of a boy brought up in a milieu of Jansenist piety, who in late adolescence is exposed to a woman of beauty and sensuality, a woman who lives by pleasure and love. What follows is predictable to anyone who has read a dozen French novels: passion in Paris, ennui, a reappearance of the boy's religious scruples, and the hysteria of the abandoned woman.

For all its aroma of canned Proust, *The Enemy* is a competent fiction, suavely faithful to the French prescription for illicit love, persuasive in its study of the boy's emotions. Unfortunately, however, the two parts of the story remain unfused: the flesh and the faith come neither to peace nor to grips. If anything, the flesh has the better of it; and we can understand why French Catholic critics rebuked Mauriac in the twenties and thirties as a refined sensualist, who was careful to renew his option with God—and why Mauriac, in a blaze of anguish and anger, cried out, "Christianity makes no allowance for the flesh; it abolishes it."

By contrast, *The Weakling* seems to me one of the few successful works of religious fiction written in our time. The

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old Parisian triviality has been stripped away; nothing remains of Mauriac's earlier fondness for the decorative and voluptuous; the story is clearly allegorical yet does not hurl this fact at the reader; and the characters, neither "round" nor "flat," are appalling gargoyles—monsters come alive from a Goya picture. In a French village after the first world war, a coarse but ambitious middle-class girl marries into a crumbling noble family. Her son, slow-minded and unloved, becomes an issue of struggle between herself and the family. The boy is put out to a Communist schoolteacher, a decent man strapped by dogma; and for the first time, because the teacher treats him with kindness, the boy begins to feel himself part of a living world. But then the family pulls him back; the schoolmaster refuses responsibility for this child of the upper classes. And the boy, abandoned by the agents of the aristocracy, the middle-class and the revolution, is left entirely to himself. In a scene of gruesome power, he wanders off to a pond and drowns himself.

Mauriac renders the squalor of the village with such economy and directness that it soon comes to seem a symbol of the modern world. The intentions behind his allegory of withdrawn love are obvious enough; but *The Weakling* is an impressive work of art because it surmounts categories and, despite Mauriac's doctrinal bias, can be "translated" into any serious mode of thought or feeling. If there is to be a religious fiction in our time worthy of serious respect, I think it will take this form: brusquely allegorical, harshly written, almost uncouth in its disregard for the usual decor of the novel.

About *The Stumbling Block* there is space only to say that it is an eloquent exposition of Mauriac's radical Christianity, which is not the same as Christian radicalism. The book is at once an attack on "the pious Barnums of the Holy Church," a criticism of those Catholics whose "spiritual state is not so very different from that of the members of the Jockey Club," a plea that atheists not reject Christ because of their dislike of the temporal Church, a polemic against Mariolatry, a defense of democratic Christianity, and a movingly honest revelation of Mauriac's own religious life. The religious pretensions of many literary men—Greene, Waugh, Auden, Cocteau—I find difficult to honor at claim; but in reading Mauriac I am convinced that here is a man to whom the search for God is, finally, everything. And this seriousness is impressive even to those who cannot share the belief that inspires it. But when Mauriac writes in his preface that *The Stumbling Block* was written before the Church announced the dogma of the Assumption and that, despite his remarks on the Marian cult, "the Church cannot be wrong in a matter of faith"—when he writes this after the fervor of his book, one can only feel that here, unwittingly, he has exposed to public sight the gnawing dilemma of the Catholic intellectual.

IRVING HOWE

FOOD AND THE WORLD

GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGER, by Josue de Castro (Little Brown; $4.50).

THIS BOOK IS full of controversy and wide open to criticism by experts in the fields of population problems, nutrition, conservation and birth control. Because de Castro sees the main outlines of the "forest," I look on *The Geography of Hunger* as deserving of the widest possible distribution even though he may not be too familiar with the growth of some of the "trees in the forest."

I am referring in particular to his controversial doctrine that increasing the amount of protein (and especially animal protein) in the diet reduces the birth rate. The facts which he quotes are suggestive but hardly strong enough to prove his theory. For example, I question whether the Formosans with their exceedingly high birth rate of 46 are so fertile because of the fact that they have only five grams of animal protein the diet. Nor does it seem reasonable to infer that the Americans and Swedes with 12 times as much animal protein in the diet as the Formosans are thereby caused to have a birth rate which is only a fraction as high. Somehow I cannot believe that cutting the amount of animal protein in the diet of Americans and Swedes to one-twelfth what it now is, would treble the number of children which the American and Swedish women would bear. Of course de Castro does not claim that the amount of protein in the diet is the exclusive cause of high or low birth rate, but he does put an emphasis on this factor far beyond that placed by most American scientists.

He calls attention to an experiment in which the rats getting 10 percent of protein in their food produced 69 percent more offspring than the rats getting 22 percent. He says the way deficient protein causes excess fertility is via the liver. Lack of protein causes the liver to degenerate and a malfunctioning liver does not perform the proper function of a healthy liver in eliminating excess estrogen in the female body. (De Castro's thesis makes me want to conduct some experiments with chickens.) It appears that adequate, high quality protein in the diet is essential to controlling the quantity of human life and increasing the quality. The thesis is challenging enough to warrant some rather careful scientific work. Certainly low protein is a reflection of other factors making for a high birth rate and the two go together so universally that we might in commenting on the Sermon on the Mount say, "The low protein people shall inherit the earth."

The rapid survey given by the book of the part played in the diet in various parts of the world by vitamins, minerals, and proteins presents nothing particularly new. Many people will quarrel with him in his analysis of a country like India. It may be impossible politically to do in India the things which are scientifically and technologically possible. But in the US we have been able to increase our agricultural output by more than one percent annually. Why can't India increase its food output to take care of the four million annual expansion in Indian population? At the moment in India the magic of modern medicine seems to be outrunning in its effectiveness the power of modern agriculture. On the whole the mouths are still out-pacing the food and all the plans of Point Four, the Ford Foundation, Nehru and FAO give little promise of

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swinging into action fast enough to prevent the most extreme misery.

With regard to the scientific possibilities of increasing agricultural output in the world I agree in the main with de Castro; but when it comes to a specific country at a specific time I fear he may be over-optimistic and that he may not have thought out carefully enough the precise steps which should be taken if many of the so-called backward areas are not to be turned over to misery-generated communism.

In the main I think Lord Orr in his laudatory foreword is correct in saying that this book should have been called "Hunger and Politics." As a Latin de Castro is resentful of the way in which several countries have been so exploited by American and British oil concerns as to reduce the health-giving properties of the diet. Moreover, many Arabs as a result of food are only half as strong as the average American.

I would suggest, however, de Castro study the "pilot plant" work done by Nelson Rockefeller's American International Association in developing techniques for making supervised agricultural loans to small farmers. Thus far only a few hundred farmers have been serviced in Venezuela and Brazil. About 95 percent of the loan money has been paid back. The borrowing farmers have increased their productivity and net worth. In the long run I am inclined to think that the only way Anglo-American capital can make itself safe in the world is to learn the technique of making production and marketing loans to small farmers; while at the same time farm-to-market roads, fertilizer factories, and irrigation systems make possible the opening up of new lands. We have the money and the agricultural techniques to do an excellent job in southern Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The question is whether we move fast enough either through the UN, or directly if we have to.

De Castro is utterly right when he points out how a great increase in productivity in the East, the Near East, Africa and Latin America will determine the economic security and prosperity of Western civilization. This area can do as much for the Western World in the next 100 years as the USA did for Britain during the nineteenth century. We in the USA were politically free from England and in some ways, competitive; but our growth, nevertheless, did more to build England than did all the dependent colonies where people were exploited.

H. A. WALLACE

TEST FOR MIXED ENTERPRISE

TWO-THIRDS OF A NATION: A HOUSING PROGRAM, by Nathan Straus (Knopf; $4).

SINCE MOST housers are likely to read this book anyway, my review is addressed to those who may not be particularly concerned with problems of domestic environment *per se*, but who should realize what a peculiar phenomenon the housing business has become in our national political economy.

Mr. Straus and his collaborators deal cogently with a number of specific issues: the need for low-rent public housing and the highly-organized, well-oiled, nation-wide effort to kill it; the need for fresh effort to solve the "middle-income" shelter problem despite the enormous volume of Federal commitments that bolster up speculative housing enterprise; the increasingly obvious fact that heavy Federal subsidies for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, however popular, are likely to be worse than wasted without more imaginative administration and more effective metropolitan and regional planning; the necessary but neglected role of the States in housing policy (by Chester Bowles); the powerful tools provided by the Housing Act of 1949 and how to use them (by Lee Johnson); the responsibility of housing and planning policy for improved race relations (by Charles Abrams); and some illuminating comparisons with Britain's housing and planning policy, by Eric Bird).

These issues are so complex in detail that they tend to make earnest laymen recoil in dismay and turn to something comparatively easy, like World Government or Point Four. But what this book deals with at base is a rather simple but puzzling set of facts which are worth serious pondering outside the housing trade. These facts even have some international significance in their way.

For what they show is that the American housing business has become a thoroughly "mixed" enterprise from start to finish. The means by which we produce that sacrosanct private commodity, the American home, are now largely dominated by public policy, public finance, public standards, public initiative, and public control. An entire segment of our basic economy is irretrievably established on a social-democratic basis, quite as much as it is in Britain, Holland, or Scandinavia. Private building interests, while they may scream Socialism about public housing, would scream even louder if FHA were removed from the scene.

Leon Keyserling, quoted on the first page of Mr. Straus's book, puts the challenge optimistically:

> Housing affords the best single opportunity for that very important blending of private enterprise, local initiative and forward-looking public endeavor at all levels of government which is the unique hallmark of the dynamic American economy and which can prove to more and more people throughout the world that our system is the best system.

But it's not so easy. We got into this situation almost unwittingly, certainly without accepting any such clear-cut political-economic philosophy. It happened because we have confronted a long series of variegated housing crises, and when we're in a jam we never hesitate to pass a law. But we consistently tend to ignore the full implications of public action. We pretend that housing is still "private enterprise" in the traditional sense, with perhaps a little "emergency" boost or curb by government, plus a modicum of charity for the indigent. And the result, unfortunately, is not always a dynamic partnership between healthy private enterprise and mature, clear-cut public purpose. Instead, all too often, we have unhealthy private enterprise dominated by confused, half-baked public policy: the blind leading the lame.

CATHERINE BAUER

Miss Bauer, Vice President of the National Housing Conference, is lecturer on city and regional planning at the University of California.

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JUBAL, JABAL AND MOORE

COLLECTED POEMS, by Marianne Moore (Macmillan; $3).

Genesis tells us of Jubal and Jabal.
One handled the harp and one herded the cattle.

HAVING ALLOWED her *Selected Poems* to remain out of print for much too long a time, Marianne Moore's publishers now make amends with a volume including, besides that most important early group, all her later work both collected and hitherto uncollected. This poet of an intricate verse woven around simple experience is very close in spirit to the rest of the poetic generation of which she is a part. Because of her unique realistic and rational yet *spirituelle* idiom, we easily overlook how often her exclamatory outbursts resemble those of Pound and Williams; how many of her subtle threads of argumentation bear a family likeness to those of the second part of *Mauberley*; how her attempts to root her work in concrete observation resemble the attempts of Williams in *Spring and All* or *Paterson*; how much her lyric irony has in common with that of Eliot and Stevens, particularly with the latter.

Readers who have come to know her writing chiefly through the fairly generous representation in anthologies can now discern more clearly, perhaps, her method of understatement for emphasis; because these poems see more truly into the heart of things than does most other more violently and overtly emotional verse. She herself has written that

The deepest feeling always shows itself in silence;
not in silence, but restraint.

And though the general impression, that her urbanity, her Jamesian wit and her subtlety are the special marks of her talent, is in some proportion justified, it nevertheless obstructs recognition of Miss Moore's deeper-going seriousness. The disguise is a deliberate one; Miss Moore will not (to alter a phrase of Yeats') "break up her lines to weep."

James, of course, wore a similar disguise. In *The Ambassadors*, the "great" scene is the one in which Strether, in the garden, passionately urges on his young friend the value of the elemental meaning of life underlying all things. Miss Moore's vivid emphasis on the details of subhuman organic life—she is the botanist's and the zoologist's poet, as *well* as the poet's poet—makes her poetry swarm with symbolic observation. The pretense is that all this occurs in a hothouse or a zoo, where one watches the flora or the curious beasts with amused and sympathetic detachment, making polite conversation all the while. But how intense the interest really is, how uncompromising the preciseness of detail, how persistent the drive toward universalizing ethical import; how irritated the poet is with softheadedness of any kind! The ostrich "digesteth harde yron" and is therefore superior to all the absurdities of his appearance and, more important, to his ridiculous common mortality. Sometimes her famous "imaginary gardens with real toads in them"—Miss Moore's image for genuine poetic creations—are really not so far from Blake's tiger-haunted forests.

Without, indeed, the underlying seriousness and intensity, it is unlikely that Marianne Moore could be so much the poet of careful distinctions among the possible meanings of experience, the elegant colloquialist who some day, if we *must* seat her with others, will "dine with Landor and with Donne." Without her sense of orderliness and her control, she could not write. Even in the highly emotional *In Distrust of Merits* and *Keeping Their World Large*, which are much more direct expressions of feeling than she usually allows herself, her method remains that of refining and correcting an attitude until it fits her perfectly. The most delicately lyrical moments will have their deliberate adjustments of focus, often their little comic turns beginning with the title:

THE MIND IS AN ENCHANTING THING
is an enchanted thing
like the glaze on a
katydid wing
subdivided by sun
till the nettings are legion.

Such a recognizable method is employed in many idiomatic contexts: sometimes that of a New England Emersonian wisdom, sometimes that of a pure ironic sensibility, sometimes of an anti-philistinism or, it may be, a sort of E. M. Forster liberalism. The type of consciousness at the center does not change; it values its own self-discipline; it seeks grace of bearing; it does not surrender its finely unsentimental if ultimately melioristic morass. Miss Moore never strikes what Auden calls the *lacrimae rerum* note, which is an entirely different note from the tragic consciousness that may underlie gaiety of spirit. We honor such poetry as the poetry of courage and right understanding.

M. L. ROSENTHAL

THEATRE: FINALE

AUDIENCES at previews and at opening nights often strike me as participants in a contest. They behave as people who have either been lobbied or challenged. When they are pleased, they act wildly surprised, as if they hadn't expected this could happen; when they are displeased they are outraged, as if no one had the right to offer them anything less than the superb. Generally they sound as if the point of a theatrical performance was the opportunity it offered them to form an opinion of it. The impression made by these audiences is that of a group composed entirely of investors or those who had been asked to invest—and refused. In such an atmosphere the play always seems much better or much worse than it is. In fact it does not look like a play at all but some sort of prize—fabulously costly or ignominious. The play under such circumstances loses its innocence and becomes a more or less perverse vanity.

All this occurred to me as I left the preview performance of George Taboris' *Flight Into Egypt*. It was the last play of which I was to write for this department. As the curtain fell someone nudged me to ask "What do you think?" which chiefly meant would the play "go." I realized suddenly that I not only didn't care whether or not it would "go" (I wasn't an investor) but I hardly cared what I "thought" of it. While I watched it my mind registered certain objections—the uncertainly articulated theme confusing a plot line that

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might be considered trite—what was important to me was the fact that I was enjoying a certain relation to what I saw that could hardly be defined in terms of opinion. It was a sense of contact with a living thing—noticeably imperfect—hence an experience that was pleasurably ambivalent. Only through such contact could I *know* anything about the play.

The experience of the play—the sense of each actor on the stage, their struggle with the material which was suggestive and intrinsically absorbing—was being driven from me by something that was not essentially of the theatre. It is true that part of the pleasure of the theatre is the arena-spectacle aspect of it—the who-will-win excitement of a sports event. But what is most characteristic of the theatre experience is the joy of looking into a strange, imaginative world, and observing it with more concentration, love and curiosity than we do in regard to our workaday activities. This esssential pleasure we are being increasingly robbed of by the cash register or race track climate which pervades our playhouses.

The severity of our theatre audiences before the signal has been given them by press, rumor and gossip that it is all right for them to enjoy a play is not at all a critical severity. Criticism bespeaks awareness, sensitivity, discrimination as to the nature of one's feelings, above all and to begin with, an openness of the senses and the heart. Our critical severity is a commercial reflex: we don't want to be fooled—we must like or praise only what is accredited. That is why we have so much "criticism" in superlatives of praise or blame—both equally distorted. And the tendency of our official criticism is to imitate our practice rather than to correct it. Our practice consists of treating the theatre as a business rather than as free expression and play—even though the playgoer is not in the theatre for business.

In this way we are not only killing our pleasure in the theatre but ultimately the institution itself. When we measure the theatre mainly in terms of snobbish opinion or box-office profit (the two slowly coalesce) the need for theatre ultimately disappears: there are more rarefied pursuits to be snobbish about and entertainments that are more profitably popular. We often say that this state of affairs is due to the economics of the theatrical situation; I am sometimes inclined to believe that our approach to the theatre encourages, indeed necessitates, its ruinous economics.

The economics of our theatre and our distorted relationship to plays brings about a sharp limitation in the spiritual range of our drama. There are not enough "crazy" plays! Our theatre would be immensely enriched if there were more room allowed for angry, puzzling, impulsive, extravagant, ambitious, wrongheaded, adventurous expression. Our theatre is at once rigidly careful and ignorantly devoted to what is novel. "Old" plays—even plays most people haven't seen or read—are rarely profitable because "old" plays do not afford us the opportunity to guess or to be "curious" about them, the publicity value has run out of them—they are "known."

Because we are chiefly interested in the labels we put on plays—our orders of merit—we do not actually see or hear plays, as the sensitive person does a new acquaintance. Take the case of Christopher Fry. (For my part, I have altered my view of him on several different occasions and do not intend to come to a *conclusion* about him for, I hope, a long time.) Who, from hearing his plays described, knows anything about them? They are "poetry," "precious," "wordy," or "they give the theatre a breath of new life," they "add a refreshing note." Fry is a "literary figure," a "real writer." But what exactly he represents, how his poetry differs from others, what it means, what its precise color and tone are, its significance as part of our time, how his fundamental attitude relates to our experience, belief and needs (what indeed it is)—is never stated. It is never stated because the answers to such questions do not relate to the entertainment business or to the need to give quick answers at curtain time.

The 1951-1952 theatre season has not been a brilliant one. But it is ending with a flurry of interest—the revival of Clifford Odets' *Golden Boy*, *Flight Into Egypt*, Truman Capote's *The Grass Harp* and Horton Foote's forthcoming *The Chase* are all offerings worth attention and discussion. The point to remember, however, is that no season would have to be "brilliant" if the foundation of our theatre was sound. Genius and masterpieces are always rare, and the situation is unhealthy where we constantly seek or discover them. A natural life is what we require for our arts. At present the situation in the theatre is artificial, constrained, hysterically tense and destructive.

If the theatre still lives among us it is because we Americans are a greatly gifted people. Our stage possesses vast resources of talent. Our actors, directors, scene-designers—even our dramatists—are all capable of more than they do. They are suffering from limitations imposed on them by "conditions," but through general inertia, fear, moral and intellectual regimentation, they also contribute to these "conditions." We must live with our times; yet a country and a culture grow through resistance too. What our artists and our audiences need most today is greater consciousness—a sense of themselves as aspiring, thinking, actively struggling, personally worth-while and responsible *individuals*—otherwise they lose the benefits of their instinct.

HAROLD CLURMAN

FICTION PARADE

CLARA, by Lonnie Coleman (Dutton; $3).

However laudable Coleman's intentions, he is not (at least not yet) equipped to realize them artistically. He is concerned with revealing in Clara's own words the moral growth of a Southern woman who slowly comes to understand through painful experience the terrible falsity of racial prejudice. Unfortunately the obviousness of the paraphernalia of miscegenation, wedding-night rape, alcoholism by guilt and frustration, and murder, fairly screams at the reader who is surely ready by now for profounder insights into Southern life.

H. S.

THE PEOPLE WITH DOGS, by Christina Stead (Little, Brown; $3.75).

Miss Stead is an established and successful novelist, but her book is a disappointing and thin-blooded thing, rambling on about a quaint but uninteresting New York family and its mildly diverting friends. The leading family member is

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a pleasant if somewhat epicene young man who does not have to work for a living and cannot decide what to do with his life. Apparently Miss Stead could not decide what to do with him either, and one wonders at the end just why she took the trouble to write about him. Apart from such pungent vignettes of New York life as a brief and memorable description of middle-aged women in a Turkish bath, this is a terribly tired novel. H. S.

A SEASON IN ENGLAND, by P. H. Newby (Knopf; $3).

A Season in England has the headlong excitement of a mystery story and the stylistic excellence of a serious and well-considered novel. However, Newby runs out of gas before the series of revelatory denouements has run its course, and that there is a certain amount of cheating involved in teasing readers with promises of ultimate explications that are never forthcoming, presumably because of the author's inability to produce them. Nevertheless it hardly seems likely that anyone will be able to put this book down before he has raced through it; and, while racing, he will be delighted with the quality of the writing and the tantalizing unveiling of the unlikely people involved in the tragi-comedy. H. S.

WINDS OF MORNING, by H. L. Davis (Morrow; $3.50).

H. L. Davis' *Winds of Morning*, is a maturely conceived and beautifully executed piece of work, demonstrating anew that the American experience, as distinct from the European, is one of such breadth and vitality that it can encompass within the world of a usable past, New England aristocrats at one pole and backwoods deputy sheriffs at the other. If there is any reservation to be expressed about Davis' work, it is that there is lacking that sense of frenzied spontaneity which we get from reading Faulkner, and which makes us feel immediately that we are in the presence of a creative artist who has made a world and peopled it. The spiritual education of Davis' young deputy is a little pallid and mechanical, next to his stunning description, for example, of horses in a rainstorm. What we may remember is the scenery rather than the people who inhabit it. H. S.

THE BLESSING, by Nancy Mitford (Random House; $3).

Miss Mitford has a nice and original wit, a sharp yet sympathetic eye for the foibles of the British landed gentry, but her feelings for France and for the French upper classes are almost schoolgirlishly romantic. Since a large part of her new book, *The Blessing*, takes place in France, the chances for stickiness are greatly increased and Miss Mitford has not quite succeeded in avoiding them all. Fortunately her wit is still in evidence (although from time to time her patience with the British as opposed to the French appears to be wearing thin) and the romance is palatable. Her central idea—the monstrous child of an international marriage discovers that he is enjoyably spoiled by both parents when they are separated and ignored when they are together and he therefore works to keep them apart—is also a neat and amusing, if not especially convincing, twist on a sentimental theme. A. L. G.

THE BIDOU INHERITANCE, by Edith de Born (Norton; $3).

The Bidou Inheritance, a first novel, is a careful, perceptive, thoroughly believable and extremely interesting study of a French father and daughter in a small town near Bordeaux in the years just before and after the First World War. Bidou, the widowed father, is a peasant shopkeeper with a desire for power over people and at the same time a genuine respect for mental achievement. His only child, Madeline, marries an ambitious ne'er-do-well when she is 17 and earns his lasting disapproval. When her husband is killed in the war and she and her son are forced to return to him, he refuses to give them more than their board while he uses Madeleine as an unpaid clerk in his shop. The contest of wills between the two, Madeleine's growing desperation which ultimately leads to strength, her escape into a doomed love affair and her eventual practical solution of her problem after her father's death, make up a book written with a sureness and sense of its form amazing in a first povel. A. L. G.

MY SON AND FOE, by Josephine Pinckney (Viking; $3).

Josephine Pinckey has left an ambitious theme where she found it. Using a remote Caribbean island as background, she has set up a glamorous, eccentric family: a beautiful, Valkyrie-type woman who ran away with the handsome, impractical Greek who is now her husband, and her two sons, the first from the previous marriage. When a sophisticated American businessman visits the island, falls in love with the mother and tries to help the diffident older son, the tension latent in their relationships and particularly in the rivalry of the two boys develops into tragedy. The difficulty is that the characters, all of whom reveal a striking fondness for speaking in clichés, are unconvincing; their sudden friendship with the stranger is improbable; and the tragedy itself rather unnecessary. The bones of the story are sound enough, but Miss Pinckney's fancy prose adds little. A. L. G.

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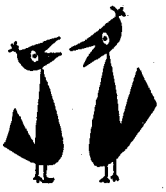

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